

HAYKAL RECALLS TV TALK WITH KISSINGER

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(ACCOUNT BY AL-AHRAM CHIEF EDITOR MOHAMMAD HAYKAL OF HIS 7 NOVEMBER CONVERSATION WITH DOCTOR KISSINGER: "MOHAMMAD HAYKAL: KISSINGER TOLD ME..." THIS MATERIAL IS COPYRIGHTED)

(TEXT) ON WEDNESDAY 7 NOVEMBER MR HENRY KISSINGER MET WITH PRESIDENT ANWAR AS-SADAT IN CAIRO. IN THE EVENING HE ASKED TO SPEAK WITH FAMOUS EGYPTIAN JOURNALIST AND POLITICAL ADVISER MOHAMMAD HASSANAYN HAYKAL, EDITOR IN CHIEF OF THE NEWSPAPER AL-AHRAM.

THE U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE WANTED TO EXPLAIN U.S. POLICY IN THE NEAR EAST AND ATTEMPT TO GET A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF ARAB FEELINGS. THEIR PRIVATE CONVERSATION TOOK PLACE AT THE HILTON HOTEL,

WHERE MR KISSINGER OCCUPIED A SEVENTH-FLOOR SUITE ON THE NIGHT OF 7 NOVEMBER.

"WHO ARE YOU," ASKED MOHAMMAD HAYKAL, WHO REPORTED THEIR CONVERSATION IN AL-AHRAM, WHEN HE ENTERED. TO THE EGYPTIAN MR KISSINGER COULD HAVE BEEN A "NEGOTIATION" IN THE VIETNAM AFFAIR: THE UNITED STATES WAS DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN IT. BUT IN THE MIDDLE EAST? MOHAMMAD HAYKAL POINTED OUT THAT THE U.S. SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL PREVENTED MR KISSINGER FROM POSING AS A "MEDIATOR."

"REGARD ME," THE AMERICAN ANSWERED, "AS A PARTY INTERESTED IN THE SOLUTION OF A CRISIS AFFECTING WHAT WE REGARD AS A SENSITIVE PART OF THE WORLD--AND WHERE WE HAVE STRATEGIC AND POLITICAL INTERESTS COUPLED WITH SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS."

#### A CERTAIN ROLE

MR KISSINGER THEN SPELLED OUT, POINT BY POINT, THE BASIS OF U.S. POLICY:

1. WE HAVE STRATEGIC INTERESTS IN THIS AREA.
2. THE SOVIET UNION, THE OTHER WORLD SUPERPOWER, ALSO HAS INTERESTS HERE.
3. WE ARE ENDEAVORING TO CREATE A NEW INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM BASED ON DETENTE IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE COLD WAR. BUT DETENTE MUST NOT CAUSE US TO ABANDON THIS AREA TO THE SOLE INFLUENCE OF THE OTHER SUPERPOWER.
4. WE DO NOT WANT TO SEE AN ESCALATION OF A CRISIS WHICH MIGHT HARM DETENTE, BECAUSE THIS WOULD BE SO GRAVE THAT ALL MANKIND WOULD BE AFFECTED BY THE CONSEQUENCES.
5. WE HAVE PARTICULAR TIES WITH ISRAEL, WHOSE SECURITY WE HAVE PLEDGED TO PROTECT. NEVERTHELESS WE BELIEVE THAT ISRAEL'S SECURITY CAN BECOME A REALITY ONLY ON CONDITION THAT YOUR SOVEREIGNTY IS RESPECTED.
6. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT OUR SPECIAL TIES WITH ISRAEL ARE IRRECONCILABLE WITH THE TIES OF FRIENDSHIP WHICH WE WISH TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN WITH YOU.

No Objection to Declassification in Full 2010/08/12 : LOC-HAK-136-1-2-7 EITHER  
ON OUR OWN OR IN CONJUNCTION WITH OTHERS. ON THE CONTRARY, WE WANT  
TO SEE ITS PEOPLES GIVEN THE WAY OF LIFE AND CONDITIONS OF SECURITY  
WHICH THEY WANT AND WHICH CORRESPOND WITH WORLD REALITIES.

"THESE ARE THE ELEMENTS OF OUR POLICY AS SPELLED OUT BY  
PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON AND AS I SEE THEM MYSELF, WITHOUT BEING  
EITHER WHAT YOU CALL AN 'INVOLVED PARTY' OR A 'MEDIATOR.'"

"YET YOU WILL CONCEDE THAT WHAT I, IN FACT, REPRESENT IS THE  
'INTEREST' WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS IN THE NEAR EAST CRISIS--AN  
INTEREST WHICH SPURS IT TO PLAY A CERTAIN ROLE WITH A VIEW TO PROTECT  
G ITS OWN INTERESTS AND THE INTERESTS OF OTHERS, WITHOUT THERE BEING  
N ANY INCOMPATIBILITY BETWEEN THE TWO.

"I KNOW THAT HERE I AM TOUCHING UPON A COMPLEX PROBLEM WHICH  
IS DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH--MORE DIFFICULT THAN GETTING THE GATES  
OF CHINA OPEN AND MORE DIFFICULT THAN ESTABLISHING UNDERSTANDING  
WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THE PRESENT PROBLEM HAS A FULL COMPLEMENT OF  
EXPLOSIVE ELEMENTS OF A HISTORICAL, NATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL NATURE;

IT IS CRAMMED WITH VESTIGES OF LONG-STANDING AND RECENT DISPUTES  
AND WITH SUSPICION COMPLEXES AND PHOBIAS.

"I CAME TO THIS PROBLEM FORSEEING WHAT AWAITED ME, KNOWING WELL  
THAT I REPRESENTED NEITHER AN "INVOLVED PARTY" NOR AN AUTHORIZED  
'INTERMEDIARY.' ALL I CLAIM TO BE IS THE SPOKESMAN OF U.S.  
'CONCERN.'

"LET ME NOW CONFIDE TO YOU TWO THINGS RELATING TO MY APPROACH  
TO PROBLEMS.

"THE FIRST IS THAT I DO NOT LIKE TO TAKE ON A PROBLEM UNLESS  
I CAN WORK OUT ITS ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OR AT LEAST A LARGE PROPORTION  
OF THIESE ELEMENTS. IN THE CASE OF VIETNAM U.S. PUBLIC OPINION  
WANTED THE WAR TO END. IT SO HAPPENED THAT THE REALITIES OF OUR TIME  
IN PEKING AND MOSCOW WERE ON MY SIDE. BUT IN THE NEAR EAST CRISIS  
I CANNOT CALCULATE PRECISELY WHAT MAJOR TRUMPCARDS I HAVE IN MY  
HAND. SECONDLY, I HAVE A FAILING.... I HAVE ACCUMULATED  
A SMALL AMOUNT OF THE ASSET OF SUCCESS WHICH I DO NOT WANT TO  
LOSE. AND I AM NOT TALKING ABOUT THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE...."

#### A LITTLE PATIENCE

HERE MR KISSINGER DIGRESSED A LITTLE. HE TOLD MOHAMMAD HAYKAL  
THAT HIS SON'S SCHOOLFRIENDS HAD TOLD HIM THAT SOME OF THEIR  
COMRADES DID NOT THINK THAT HIS FATHER DESERVED THE NOBEL PEACE  
PRIZE AT ALL. "DONT WORRY ABOUT IT," KISSINGER JUNIOR TOLD THEM,  
"MY MOTHER SAID THE SAME THING!"

MR KISSINGER LAUGHED AT THE MEMORY AND THEN ADDED: "MY  
REPUTATION IS AT STAKE." HE BELIEVES HE HAS SOME CHANCE OF SUCCESS  
BUT DEMANDS A LITTLE PATIENCE. "I CONFESS

MARKET BECOMES A MORE OPEN WITH KISSINGER

THIS IS A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL

TMAT I AM AFRAID  
OF ARAB ROMANTICISM," HE SAID. "PEACE IS NOT JUST AROUND THE  
CORNER. IT WILL TAKE TIME: SOME 6 MONTHS OR SO OR EVEN A YEAR  
BEFORE WE SEE ANYTHING CONCRETE EMERGE. WORLD POLITICS  
IS NOT A CONJURER'S BUSINESS."

MR KISSINGER THEN EXPLAINED THE REASONS WHICH PROMPTED HIM TO  
ASK FOR THE FIRST CEASE-FIRE THE DAY AFTER HOSTILITIES STARTED:  
"I WAS NOT TAKING ISRAEL'S SIDE, AS YOU BELIEVED ." ON THE  
CONTRARY, HE STATED, "ALL OUR EXPERTS BELIEVED THAT IF YOU RESTARTED  
THE WAR YOU WOULD BE EXPOSING YOURSELVES TO A DECISIVE ATTACK  
BY THE ISRAELI ARMED FORCES. IT WAS THEN THAT I PROPOSED A CEASE-FIRE  
AND A RETURN TO THE ORIGINAL LINES. I BELIEVED THIS MEASURE WOULD  
BENEFIT YOU MORE THAN ISRAEL."

"I REASONED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FOLLOWING LOGIC," MR  
KISSINGER SAID, "THE EGYPTIANS HAD EMBARKED ON A PERILOUS  
ADVENTURE, PROBABLY DRIVEN BY DESPAIR. BUT THE ISRAEL MILITARY  
FORCES WOULD CONTERATTACK STRONGLY, WHAT WOULD HAPPEN THEN? EGYPT  
WOULD TURN TO THE SOVIET UNION TO GET IT OUT OF THIS MESS. THE  
POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES WOULD THEN BE EITHER THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD  
INTERVENE IN A WAY WHICH WOULD OBLIGE US TO INTERVENE IN TURN--A  
FEARFUL PROSPECT FOR BOTH US AND THEM--OR THE SOVIETS WOULD  
REFUSE TO INTERVENE BY SENDING FORCES BUT WOULD ENTER EGYPT, NEVER  
TO LEAVE. AND THAT WAS ALSO AN UNPLEASANT PROSPECT FOR US."

(MORE)

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XXX PROSPECT FOR US.

(TEXT) "A MERE 2 DAYS LATER FIGHTING WAS RAGING IN THE SINAI. OUR CALCULATIONS ON THE SIZE OF YOUR CONCENTRATIONS WERE WRONG; OUR FORECASTS AS REGARDS YOUR COMBAT CAPABILITY WERE ALSO WRONG. I ASKED FOR REPORTS ON THE PROGRESS OF THE BATTLE FROM THE PENTAGON AND SEVERAL TIMES ASKED THE U.S. ARMY HIGH COMMAND: 'JUST WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE NEAR EAST?' I WAS TOLD: 'THE SITUATION IS TOTALLY DIFFERENT FROM WHAT WE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE.' WE RECEIVED REPORT AFTER REPORT ON THE CROSSING OF THE CANAL, THE FIGHTING ABILITY OF YOUR FORCES AND THE ARMORED BATTLES IN THE DESERT. AND THE WAR CONTINUED."

#### A FIRM STATEMENT

IN ORDER TO REINITIATE THE IDEA OF A CEASE-FIRE MR KISSINGER SAID THAT HE HAD TO AWAIT A FAVORABLE MOMENT WHEN THE TWO ADVERSARIES, BELIEVING THEY HAD ACHIEVED A "CERTAIN SUCCESS," WOULD ACCEPT THE IDEA OF CALLING A HALT "WITHOUT GIVING THE IMPRESSION OF HAVING SUFFERED A DEFEAT."

THE CONVERSATION TURNED TO THE SIZE OF THE U.S. AID TO ISRAEL AS COMPARED WITH SOVIET AID TO EGYPT AND SYRIA. MR. KISSINGER MADE A FIRST FIRM STATEMENT: "DO NOT DECEIVE YOURSELF, THE UNITED STATES COULD NOT--EITHER TODAY OR TOMORROW--ALLOW SOVIET ARMS TO WIN A BIG VICTORY, EVEN IF IT WAS NOT DEISIVE, AGAINST U.S. ARMS. THIS HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH ISRAEL OR WITH YOU." HIS SECOND FIRM STATEMENT RAN; "EVEN IF THE ISRAELIS HAD NOT HAD THE ARMS WE SENT THEM, THEY WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN IN THE POWERLESS SITUATION YOU IMAGINE. THEY HAD PREPARED THEIR COUNTERATTACK OF THE SUEZ CANAL BEFORE EVEN RECEIVING OUR AID."

#### A PRINCESS

THEREAFTER IT WAS MR KISSINGERS'S TURN TO ASK THE QUESTIONS.

"SINCE WHEN HAS SINAI BEEN EGYPTIAN?"

"I WILL SEND YOU A COLLECTION OF LOVE LETTERS WRITTEN ON PAPYRUS 5,000 YEARS AGO. THEY WERE WRITTEN BY AN EGYPTIAN OFFICER FROM THE AL-ARISH GARRISON TO HIS WIFE, A PHARAONIC PRINCESS. 'I AM THINKING OF YOU IN THIS DISTANT PLACE WHERE I MUST REPULSE THE ENEMY WHICH IS ATTACKING THE FRONTIERS OF THE SACRED HOMELAND,' HE TELLS HER. MR KISSINGER, WE ARE AMONG THE MOST ANCIENT PEOPLE IN HISTORY...."

MOHAMMAD HAYKAL ENDED BY SPELLING OUT HIS CONCLUSIONS. HE ADMIRES MR KISSINGER BUT SUSPECTS THAT HE THINKS SOLELY IN TERMS OF CORRELATIONS OF FORCES--NOT A GOOD MEANS FOR SOLVING THE CONFLICT. BUT IN ANY EVENT MOHAMMAD HAYKAL NOTES THAT ONE ESSENTIAL FACT REMAINS: THE UNITED STATES IS STILL THE ONLY COUNTRY CAPABLE OF "BRINGING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON ISRAEL AND EVEN MAKING IT BACK DOWN, ON CONDITION THAT THE U.S. PRESIDENT LEADS INSTEAD OF BEING LED."

(ENDALL)

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